1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

121 expression in *desa* life: the village temples, the village administration and its meetings, and the village ceremonies.

I

The Temples

778 The various temples intended particularly for religious purposes on the village level demonstrate clearly to what extent religion is a fundamental factor in *desa* society. On Bali there are, of course, various categories of temples, each associated with a certain group of people.

575 597 243 312 Besides the village temples to be discussed below, there are sanctuaries venerated by the irrigation association, the family, the realm. Moreover there are special temples for sacred places such as mountain peaks, lakes, and forests, and for special voluntary associations (*puras pĕmaksan*, *puras panti*) such as *barong* groups and the like. The irrigation-association sanctuaries may be subdivided into *subak* temples, weir temples, and other sanctuaries. Among the state temples a distinction must be made between the *puras pĕnataran* of the various principalities and Pura Bĕsakih, the sanctuary for the whole of Bali. An intermediate stage between the state temples and temples at holy places is formed by the temples of origin and the *sadkayangans*. The temples of origin referred to here are neither the family *puras kawitan* or *kĕmimitan* nor the village *puras pusĕh* or navel temples, but the sanctuaries of the origin of the world which bear such various names as *pura pusĕr ing jagat* (world-navel temple), *pura pusĕr ing tasik* (sea-navel temple), *pura kĕntĕl gumi* ('temple where the whirling earth has congealed'), and the like. The *sadkayangan* temples are a group of sanctuaries of general (that is to say not local) significance, of which there are differing listings. Four or five temples recur in all these lists, but each separate list also has a few varying names. Pura Pĕnataran Sasih, Pura Batu Kau, Pura Yeh Jĕruk, and Pura Goa Lĕlawah are among the names recurring in all lists. Among the family temples are the household temples (*sanggahs*, or, for the nobility, *pĕmĕrajans*), the family origin temples (*puras kawitan* or

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OF7 Balinese OF7

769 792 completely purified, they are worshipped in the *pura pusĕh* as deified ancestors.

792 Besides the three temples *pusĕh*, *bale agung*, and *dalĕm*, mention may also be made of the water or source temple, traditionally called *pura kayĕhan*, and more recently *pura paji*. Moreover there are the mountain temples, *puras bukit*, and the sea temples, *puras sĕgara*.

312 575 794 Besides worship in a village context the ordinary Balinese, and particularly the Balinese of the plains, worship in an irrigation-association context. All the parts of Bali that are irrigated are divided into large irrigation territories which are subdivided into weir districts, and those in turn into irrigation associations. Each of these territorial divisions has its own temple, though the names vary slightly from region to region. The temple of the irrigation territory whose water comes from a single lake is sometimes called *pura bĕdugul;* elsewhere the temple of the larger irrigation territory is called *pura ulun siwi*.

The weir temples are called *puras ĕmpĕlan*. The usual name of the sanctuary of an irrigation association is *pura subak*,[10] though in Gianyar this name is not to be found, and there one speaks of [243] *pura mas-cheti*. In this latter temple the harvest festival (*usaba*) and other less important ceremonies connected with rice growing are celebrated. (It should be pointed out that though the word *usaba* now means 'harvest festival' in northern Bali, in Karangasĕm it indicates an annual temple festival. This usage is certainly an older one, and is more in agreement with the original significance of the Sanskrit word *utsawa*.[11] In general the nomenclature of the temple festivals is deviant, and often more in accord with older tradition, in Karangasĕm.)

792 794 Worship in a larger context than the village or irrigation association is conducted first of all in the *puras pĕnataran*, which may well be called state temples.

While the *pĕnataran* temples point towards the unity of a realm, another group of sanctuaries with a somewhat comparable character is that of the temples known as *pusĕr ing jagat*, 'the navel of the

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OF7 Bali OF7

attain great richness and fertility. The burning tropical sun shining on the saturated earth produces a steaming, electric, hothouse atmosphere that gives birth to the dripping jungles that cover the slopes of the volcanoes with prehistoric tree-ferns, pandanus, and palms, strangled in a mesh of creepers of all sorts, their trunks smothered with orchids and alive with leeches, fantastic butterflies, birds, and screeching wild monkeys. This exuberance extends to the cultivated parts of the island, where the ricefields that cover this over-populated land produce every year, and without great effort, two crops of the finest rice in the Indies.

Despite the enormous population, the lack of running water has kept the western part of the island uninhabited and wild. The few remaining tigers, and the deer, wild hog, crocodiles, great lizards, jungle cocks, etc., are the sole dwellers in this arid hilly country covered with a dusty, low brush. Curiously enough, the Balinese regard this deserted land (*Pulaki*) as their place of origin. They explain in an old legend that a great city, which still exists, once flourished there, but has been made invisible to human eyes by Wahu Rahu, the greatest Brahmana from Java, who was forced to flee from the capital, Gelgel, to save his beautiful daughter from the king (by caste his inferior) and who found refuge in *Pulaki* by making the city invisible to the wicked king and his followers.

Another arid region in contrast with the extravagant fertility of the island is the peninsula of limestone called Tafelhoek (*Bukit* to the Balinese) which rises to a height of 700 feet above the sea. This curious tableland, which shows every indication of having once been at the bottom of the ocean, is joined to the mainland by a low, narrow isthmus, but its sides rise almost vertically from the sea, and on the extremity of a long narrow rock, with a straight drop of 250 feet, is the fantastically situated temple of Uluwatu, one of the holiest in Bali. This projecting rock is believed to be the ship, turned to stone, of Dewi Danu, the goddess of waters.

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OF7 Bali OF7

paid labour and the relation of boss to coolie are reduced to a minimum in Bali. Since the world of a Balinese is his community, he is anxious to prove his worth, for his own welfare is in direct relation to his social behaviour and his communal standing. Moral sanctions are regarded as stronger than physical punishment, and no one will risk the dreaded punishment of exile from the village, when a man is publicly declared "dead" to his community. Once "thrown away," he cannot be admitted into another of the co-operative villages, so no misfortune could be greater to the Balinese than public disgrace. This makes of every village a closely unified organism in which the communal policy is harmony and co-operation – a system that works to everybody's advantage.

By their ingenuity and constant activity they have raised their main occupation, the cultivation of rice, to levels unsurpassed by other rice-growing nations. Being essentially agriculturists, they are not interested in navigation and trade; living the easy life of the tropics, they are satisfied and well fed. The majority work the land for themselves, so they have not yet become wage-earners and have enough freedom and leisure left to dedicate to spiritual relaxation. They are extraordinarily fond of music, poetry, and dancing, which have produced a remarkable theatre. Their culture, unlike that of their cultural ancestors, the Javanese, is not yet in frank decline. Even the common people are better agriculturists, better craftsmen and artists than the average Javanese. The Balinese are by no means a primitive people.

Moreover, unlike the natives of the South Seas and similar races under white domination, the Balinese are not a dying people; far from that, in the last ten years a constant increase in the birth-rate has been recorded. The 1930 census gave the population of Bali as 1,148,000 people, or about 500 to the square mile, an enormous figure when compared with the 41 per square mile of the United States. This includes the foreign population: 7,935 Chinese, 1,544 Arabs and other Mohammedans, and 411 Europeans, of which only a small percentage are

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OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER IV

RICE, WORK, & WEALTH

773 776 According to legend, the Balinese originally had only the juice of sugar-cane as food. Out of pity for the human race, the male god of fertility and water, Wisnu, Plutonic Lord of the Underworld, came to earth in disguise to provide them with better food. He raped an unwilling Mother Earth to fertilize her and give birth to rice, and she became known as Sanghyang Ibu Pretiwi, the Smitten Grandmother. Then Wisnu made war on Indra, Lord of the Heavens, to induce him to teach men how to grow rice. Thus, as the principal source of life and wealth and as a gift from the gods, rice was born from the cosmic union of the divine male and female creative forces represented in earth and water.

776 773 822 [243] Besides white rice (*bras*), there are red (*gaga*) and black (*indjin*) varieties. These the Balinese conveniently co-ordinated with their symbolic notion of the relation between colour and direction by the explanation that the seeds were provided by Sanghyang Kesuhum Kidul (Brahma), the patron of the South, who sent four doves with seeds of the four cardinal colours: white, red, yellow, and black. Since there was no yellow rice, the seed of that colour became tumeric (*kunyit*), an important [263] condiment.

262 776 Poor people, or those living in districts where water is not abundant, live on corn and sweet potatoes, foods considered in-

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OF7 Bali OF7

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ferior to rice, and taken to be transformed male and female attendants of Dewi Sri, wife of Wisnu, goddess of agriculture, fertility, and success. To the Balinese Dewi Sri represents all that is good and beautiful and she is their most popular deity. She has been placed, perhaps with the advent of Hinduism, above Dewi Melanting, the native goddess of seed and plants, who, as daughter of Dewi Sri, remains the goddess of gardens and markets. Dewi Melanting spends half the year above the earth and the other half below; or, as Dr. Goris puts it, "she has first to undergo death under the black earth before she can come to new life."

243

Since man lives off rice and his body and soul are built from it, rice itself is treated with reverence and respect and the whole rice culture has developed into an elaborate cult. There are endless magic-ritual acts to make the rice grow big and strong, or so that water shall not be lacking, or to prevent the pollution of the land and the loss of seed by theft, birds, and mice. From planting-time until harvest the growth of rice is watched with as much anxiety as the life of a child. The Balinese are famed as the most efficient rice-growers in the archipelago. They raise two crops of fine rice a year with such success that they have more than sufficient for the needs of the population, often having enough left over to sell or give away. Even agricultural experts admit that modern methods could not improve the already excellent results, due perhaps to the intense striving of the Balinese for improvement, their communal, co-operative agricultural societies, and their Burbank-like system of seed selection.

The most striking element of the Balinese landscape is the ever present ricefield, the *sawa*, a patch of land filled with water held by dikes cut out of the red earth. Every available piece of ground to which it is humanly possible to bring water, even to mountain heights, is made use of. The receding man-made terraces, like flights of gigantic stairs, cover the hills and spread over the slopes and plains. When they are first filled with still water they are like mosaics of mirrors that reflect the clouds. Later they

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OF7 Bali OF7

243 are sprinkled with the dainty blades of the newly planted rice in an all-over pattern of chartreuse on a ground of brown ooze. This thickens eventually into a tender yellow-green carpet which turns to a rich gold ochre as the grain ripens, finally leaving only dry, cracked mud after the harvest. The landscape is continually changing, and as the crop begins or ends, a familiar surrounding is so transformed as to become almost unrecognizable.

THE SUBAK

312 The rugged, mountainous nature of the island, closely furrowed by deep ravines, makes irrigation extremely difficult. Water is led from the mountains to the various levels of cultivated land by an elaborate system of canals, dams, bamboo pipes, and even long tunnels cut through solid rock, to the dikes that permit the *sawa* to be flooded or drained at will. Solid matter is filtered off and pools are made for sand deposits to prevent the clogging of the ricefields.

It is obvious that small landowners could not carry out, alone, 474 the tremendous task of attending to the work of irrigation. It 312 became necessary for them to organize into *subaks*, agricultural co-operative societies, "water boards" that control the equitable distribution of water to their members, all those who take water from a common source. The objectives of the *subak* are to give the small agriculturist the assurance that he will not lack water, to police the dams effectively so that strangers will not divert the water supply, to settle disputes, and to attend to the communal rice festivals. In the village the society assumes full social, technical, and administrative authority in all matters concerning irrigation and agriculture.

Like the village and ward associations, the *subak* is presided over by elected headmen, the *kliang* and *penyarikan subak*, with their assistants (*pangliman*). The *subak* leaders open and preside over the meetings, see that the decisions and rules are carried out, impose fines and penalties, and act as treasurers of the organization. They keep written records of the names of the mem-

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OF7 Bali OF7

bers and of all transactions and proceedings. The offices of the *subak* leaders are unrewarded, except, as in the case of other societies, for certain privileges such as extra shares of water and a small percentage of the fines collected. Every man who owns ricefields is compelled to join the *subak* and to carry out orders. Members may be allowed to buy off their services, but they must be present when important repairs are made, even though they may pay others to do their share of the work.

Once a month, or oftener if necessary, a general meeting is held in the little temple of the *subak*, a small shrine dedicated to the agricultural deities, built out in the middle of the ricefields. Attendance is compulsory and an absentee who is not properly justified is fined. When the members have gathered, the headman reads the roll, communicates the improvements and repairs to be carried out, reports on the relations of the society with higher officials [1] and with other *subaks*, and accounts for money received in fines and fees as well as what has been spent in materials, offerings, and so forth. Important decisions are reached by majority vote. When all business is settled, the headman adjourns the meeting and an informal social gathering follows in which tobacco, *sirih*, and refreshments are served by appointed attendants. If the *subak* is a prosperous one, there may even be a banquet.

Like other Balinese associations, the spirit of the *subak* is essentially communal; all members abide by the same rules, each one being allotted work in relation to the amount of water he receives. Certain stipulations are made to prevent individuals from holding more land than would be convenient to the community. A man who has more land than he can work is compelled to share the produce with people appointed to help him.

RICE CULTURE

Before any work is done in the ricefields, an expedition composed of the *kliang*, a priest (*pemangku*), and four or five *subak* mem-

[1] The various subaks of a district are under the control of an official, the sedahan, a sort of minister of agriculture, now under a Government salary.

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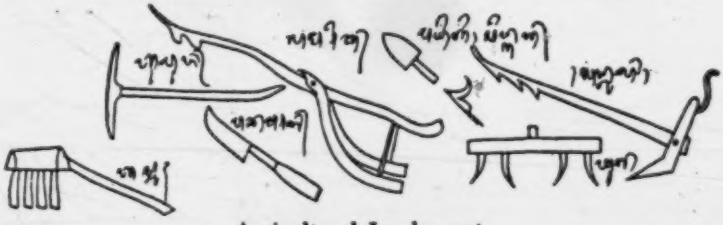
OF7 Bali OF7

243 bers goes to the holy sources of water such as Lake Batur, or
782 Besakih in the Gunung Agung. They take offerings with them
312 to gain the goodwill of the deities of the lake or of the sacred spring. Some water is brought back in a bamboo container (*sudjang*) wrapped in a new cloth and hung with strings of *kepeng*, topped by a bunch of beautiful mottled red and green *andong* leaves for decoration.

At the return of the expedition the *sudjang* is deposited on an altar in the temple of the *subak*. It is believed that the deities of

[413]



Agricultural Implements

the holy water are embodied in the container, and a feast (*mapag*) is given in honour of the divine guests. To entertain them so that they will not leave, the *subak* members perform dances and burn incense in braziers. The fields are sprinkled with holy water and the rest is poured into the common canal of the *subak* so that all the fields may benefit by it. The feast over, the necessary repairs are made, with more offerings so that the water will flow through the proper channels. Then the water is let in to flood the dry soil, and all *subak* members meet again to take a vow not to steal from one another. The land is cleansed with a great offering to the evil spirits and cockfights are staged to satisfy their thirst for blood.

243 When planting-time arrives, the land is ploughed over and over
527 again, and harrowed to incorporate with the soil the weeds and
541 rice straw that serve as fertilizer. In some places the land is effectively ploughed, in a spirit of festivity and sport, in great bull races (*megrumbungan*) held before a new crop is planted. The

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

expense involved in entertaining the many guests with a banquet has made the bull races rare nowadays, but they are still to be seen in North Bali, where there are many rich peasants. Besides the amusement derived from the race, the chance for gambling, and the utilitarian ploughing of the field, the feast is considered a good investment, because the gods, pleased by the gay and colourful spectacle, are expected to repay the donor with a plentiful harvest.

The race is held in a flooded ricefield between rival teams of specially trained bulls. The oxen are crowned with ornaments of tooled gilt leather, and silk banners decorate their yokes. Enormous wooden bells, often three feet across, are attached to their necks. Bets are placed as the contending teams are lined up with their drivers standing on the rakes to which the bulls are hitched. At a signal from the referee, they are off with a speed one does not usually associate with ploughing oxen. The yelling drivers, on the rakes that glide along the mud, whip and entice the bulls to run across the field, always with an elegant gait. Their heads are raised high, forced up by the great thumping bells, giving them an added elegance. However fast they may run, the referee gives his decision not to the fastest, but to the team with the most stately bearing.

It is typical of the Balinese to place style before mere physical speed.

When the field is prepared, the mother-seed, which has been picked from the largest and most beautiful ears, is soaked for two days and two nights, then spread on a mat and sprinkled with water until the germ breaks through. A nursery plot is prepared in a corner of the field to receive the young sprouts, which must be planted on a propitious day set by the religious calendar. They remain in the nursery for about two months; then when they have developed enough, they are pulled out, washed, pruned, tied in bunches, and exposed to the air for one night. By this time the *sawas* are clean and ready to receive the young plants; offerings (*sudjuk*) to Dewi Sri are made again and the owner of the *sawa*,

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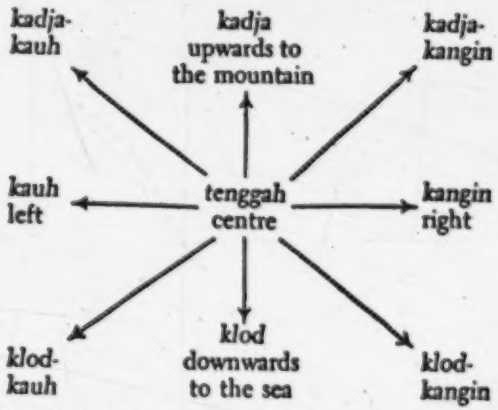
OF7 Bali OF7

243 788 822 with his own hands, plants the first nine sprouts in a small group at the uppermost corner of the plot. He begins with a single central one; then one to the right; one towards himself (in the direction of the sea behind him); then to the left; towards the mountain in front; and finally to the four intermediate points, in the following order:

9 5 6
4 1 2
8 3 7

This is to represent the Nawa Sangga, the magic rose of the winds, the Balinese cardinal directions (*pengider-ideran*):



A more detailed explanation of this important ritual principle by which the Balinese rule their actions will be given later, but for the sake of convenience let it be understood that the points correspond, in principle, to our North, South, East, West, and Centre, remembering that the point called *kadja*, which we shall call "North," is invariably towards the Gunung Agung or the local great mountain, and the *klod*, "South," is always towards the sea.

243 After the nine cardinal points have been established, the rest of the seedlings are planted all over the field, the plants stuck into the mud in rows at intervals of one hand-span. Often the

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OF7 Bali OF7

owner of the field gives a party at this time to bring himself luck. 243 ●
Soon the rice becomes green and new shoots appear, but then the rice requires the utmost care; it must be properly weeded and should have plenty of water. Offerings (*sayut sarwa genep*) are made to protect the tender plants from caterpillars, and again, after forty-two days, more offerings (*dedinan*) are made to celebrate its feast day. In about three months the grain makes its appearance; then the rice is said to be pregnant, and just as women with child long for sour foods, the offerings made then include sour fruits, as well as eggs and flowers. A stylized figure of a woman (*tjili*), made of palm-leaf, provided for this occasion with male sex organs, is presented with the following speech repeated three times: " Pst, pst, look at the woman with testicles (*Psu, psu, djero, m'baleh loh mabutoh*)." Somehow this is supposed to help with the pregnancy of the rice. The three-month feast day is celebrated with another feast called *mebidjukung*. By this time the grain has spread all over the field, and the water is drained off so that the rice may ripen quickly.

The menace of birds and mice then makes its appearance. To scare the birds away, the whole sawa is covered by an intricate network of strings hung with palm-leaves and all sorts of dangling objects (cloth barred), set in motion by a single rope operated by a boy who watches the field constantly from a high platform built for the purpose. Life-size scarecrows are erected, but soon the birds become familiar with them and will not be frightened away. Then watchmen circulate among the fields beating bamboo drums and cracking loud bamboo slapsticks. Should the sawa become infested with mice, a campaign is conducted against them; large numbers are caught and killed, but a pair is set aside [825]
and later released to atone for the killings. Then a ceremonial cremation in miniature disposes of the dead ones. Should it happen that rice is stolen, the sawa-owner takes food to the ricefield and leaves it there, saying: " Whoever stole my rice, let him return and be content with this food. I ask that my rice may multiply so that I shall get mine back."

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

243 527 When the grain is ripe, the *subak* members prepare for the ng'usaba *nini*, the great harvest festival. Cockfights are held again in the rice temple and the following day is declared *nyepi* for ricefields: a day of absolute stillness, requiring the suspension of all activity, when no one may enter a field under penalty of a fine. Two days before cutting the rice, small offerings are made to the irrigation inlet, and boughs of the *dapdap* tree, decorated with little faces of palm-leaf, are stuck at the four corners of the field to keep evil influences away. The next step is the making [78] of the Rice Mother (*nini pantun*), two sheaves of rice, one male, the other female, the Rice Husband and Wife.[2] The two sheaves are fastened together and tied to a branch, which is stuck in the ground near the main irrigation inlet. Then the cutting of the rice may proceed.

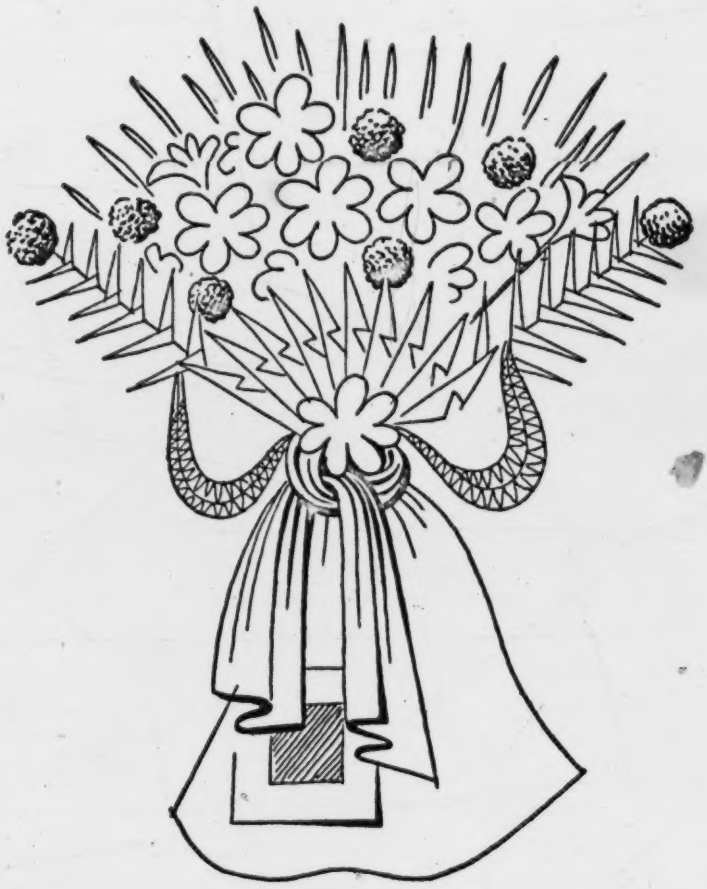
[462] [292] In Bali only men plant and attend to the rice, but women and even children help with the harvest. Everybody wears coats and great sun-hats of bamboo for protection against the burning rays of the sun. The line of reapers moves like a living row of enormous mushrooms, cutting the rice with small iron blades set in wooden frames, just large enough to be hidden in the palm of the hand. The stalks are cut one by one and tied later into huge bunches. When all the rice is cut, the Rice Mothers of the [292] various *sawa*-owners are dressed in a skirt of new white cloth held at the middle of the sheaf by a rope of white yarn, a small apron (*lamak*), and a silk scarf. The head-dress is represented by the ends of the stalks, ornamented with flowers and cut-out palm-leaf in the form of a fan, often with a human face added, drawn on a heart-shaped piece of palm.

[184] [2] The male is larger and consists of 108 stalks, while the female has only 54 stalks. The people of Badung agree that the sheaves are male and female, but in Ubud, Gianyar, they claim it is only female. They also make two sheaves, one larger than the other, but they are confused when pressed to explain the reason for the two sheaves. They call the *nini pantun* also by the names of *dewa padi* or *dewi istri*, "rice deity" or "divine wife." *Nini pantun* means simply "rice mother." Perhaps the association of feminine names and ideas has obscured the bisexual significance of the two sheaves. Van Eck says that the Rice Husband and Wife are ceremoniously wedded in the granary: "Increase ye and multiply without ceasing." I was told in Gianyar that the rice stalks used to make the mother should be stolen from various ricefields, but in Badung they appeared shocked at this idea.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

We witnessed a harvest festival in Ubud: the dressed Rice Mothers were ceremoniously assembled in the little rice temple out in the fields, decorated for the occasion with pennants

243 527 778 531



Rice Mother

(*penyor*) – tall bamboo poles hung with lacy ornaments of palm-leaf – and with beautiful *lamaks*, strips many feet long, made of the young yellow leaves of the coconut or sugar palm pinned together with bits of bamboo, covered with delicate patterns

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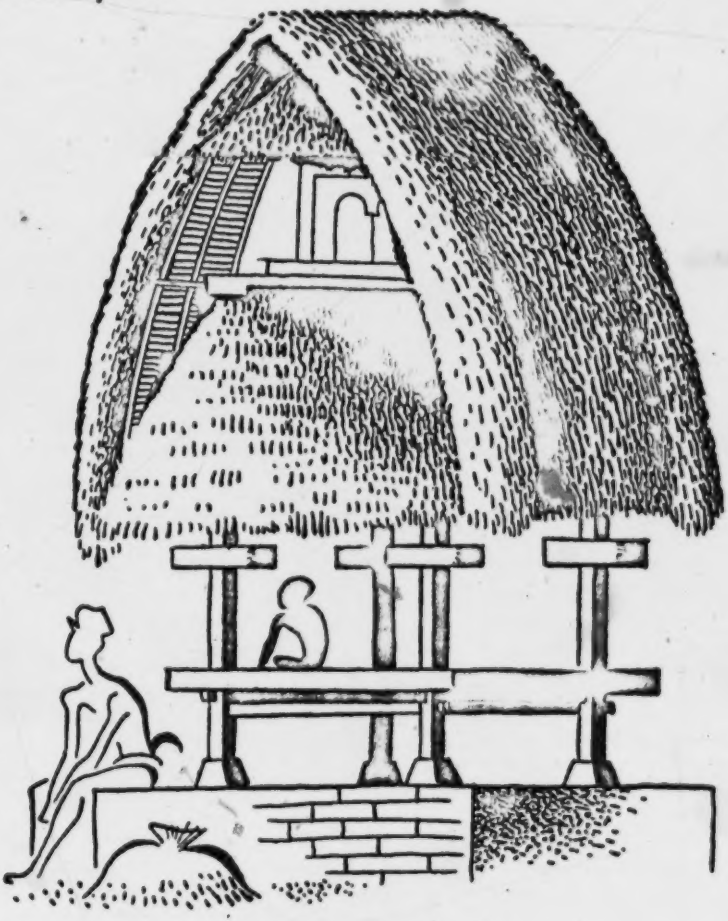
OF7 Bali OF7

243 527 778 531 representing moons, stylized girls, trees, and so forth, cut out of the mature leaves of palm, dark green lace against a background of lemon yellow.

[343]



A Granary (Lumbung)

243 527 782 The crowd started for the village in a long procession with music. The women carried the offerings and the Rice Mothers on their heads. The men wore hats freshly woven of coconut

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OF7 Bali OF7

leaf, bristling with flowers and ferns. The parade stopped at the village temple, where the decorated sheaves were blessed by the temple guardian. This ceremony was called *mendak nini*, "to bring back the Mother." Each family took its Rice Mother to its own granary, which was also decorated with *penyors* and *lamaks* to receive it. The Rice Mothers were deposited on cushions on special wooden thrones inside the granaries, and I was told that they would remain there until eaten by rats. Not even famine could justify eating the rice of the *nini*; whoever ate the Rice Mother would be considered as low as a dog. After the ceremony the cut rice was brought home to be stored in the granary until needed.

The rice granaries (called according to size and shape *lumbung*, *glebeg*, *djinan*, *klumpu*, and *klimking* in the order of their importance) are a good indication of the economic status of a family. They are tall buildings with steep, high roofs of thatch resembling the Melanesian yam houses in shape. A granary is supported by four wooden pillars with wide circular capitals to prevent rats from climbing up. Custom demands respectful handling of rice. It must be fetched in silence and only in the daytime. A person who climbs into a granary should be in a normal state of physical and spiritual health and may not chew betel-nut.

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR

In Bali one may see a woman laying bricks or breaking stones to pave a road, or find men in the market in Den Pasar sitting at their sewing-machines making blouses for women, but it would be unthinkable for a woman to paint a picture or to climb a coconut tree; a man would be disgraced if seen performing work that is the perquisite of women.

The labour allotted to each sex is sharply defined; all heavy work requiring manly attributes – agriculture, building in wood or thatch, the care of cattle – as well as most of the trades and crafts, such as carpentry, wood- and stone-carving, painting, writ-

2: Covarrubias | R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

434 were always busy in the ricefields, but rice cannot be considered
511 an important source of cash income. The Balinese grow rice for
[243] personal consumption and for offerings, selling only what is left over from the second planting, which they regard as unfit for offerings to the gods.

434 Their main source of income is in the sale of cattle and pigs,
443 and of coconuts for making copra; a second source is from coffee,
463 rice, and tobacco which they sell for export to Chinese middlemen. The trades and crafts are incidental sources of income and in the markets one may see people selling pottery, mats, baskets, and so forth, together with the vendors of vegetables, dried fish, spices, and flowers. Some craftsmen, such as the gold- and silverworkers, the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers of palm, and pottery-makers, have regular incomes, but they remain independent artisans. The Balinese men work for wages only spasmodi-
[461] cally and as an adventure. In the larger towns they engage as chauffeurs, clerks, and servants — positions which are regarded as superior. With the affluence of tourists, some now derive an income from the sale of sculptures, paintings, silverwork, weavings, and so forth.

Ruled by the principle of live and let live, landowners allow
465 others without land to share their crop in exchange for help. There are, however, organizations of labourers (*seka medjukut*) who work the earth for a communal wage. They are paid by time
[405] recorded by water-clocks (*gandji*) similar to those used in cockfights: a half coconut-shell with a small hole in the bottom, placed in a basin of water, the time it takes to sink being the measure. The fees are arranged by the head of the group.

178 At the present time, however, the economic balance has, tem-
511 porarily at least, ceased to exist. With taxes and imported commodities on the increase, and the price of Balinese products for export at rock-bottom levels, the whole population has come to find itself in need of cash, not in *kepengs* (Chinese cash valued at a fraction of a cent with which they buy the daily necessities), but in Dutch guilders worth from five hundred to

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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Ricefields ready for planting, seen from terraces above them

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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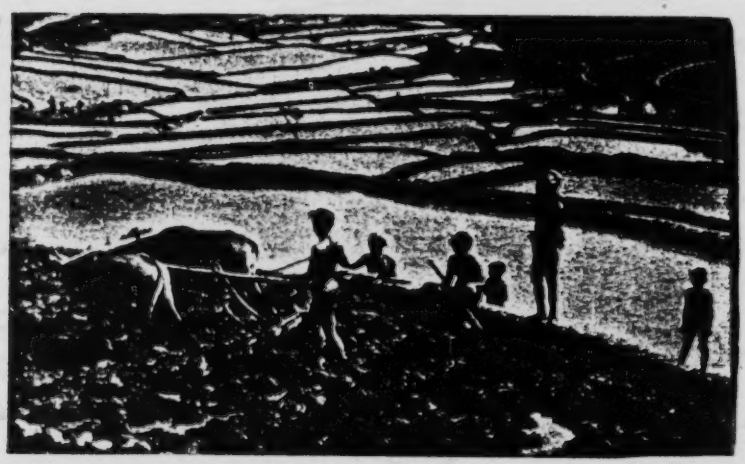
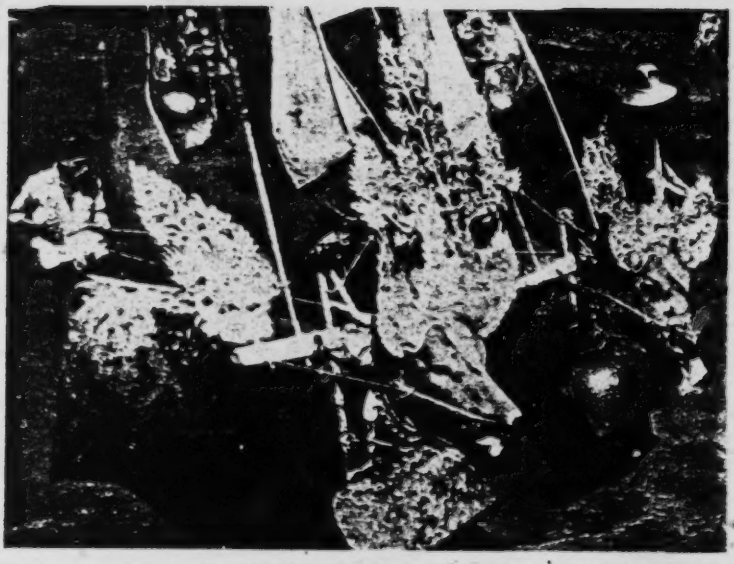


[541]



Oxen and a primitive plough are used in the ricefields

Ploughing can be turned to festive and to profitable uses, made to please the gods and to serve as a basis for bull-racing bets

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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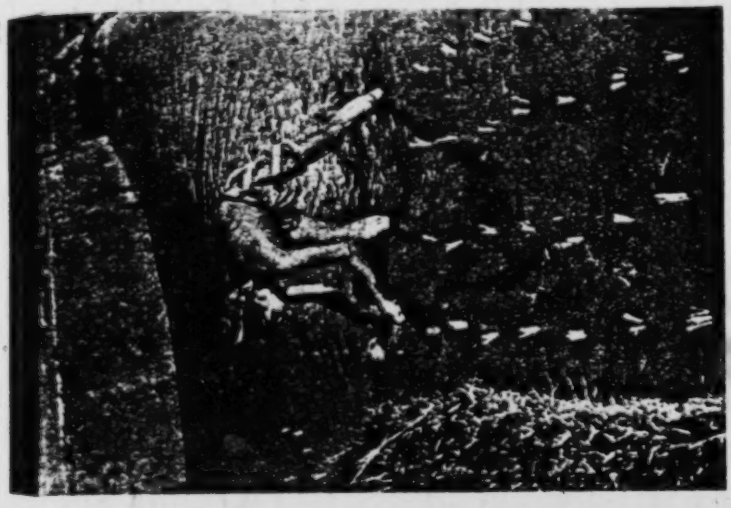
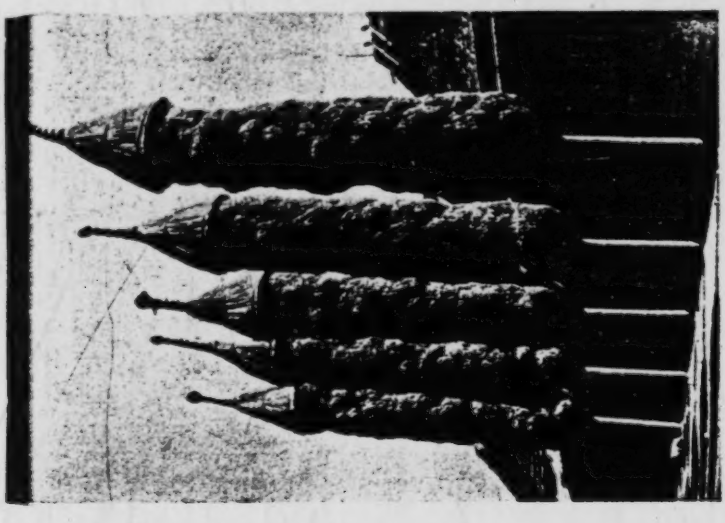


Planting the rice shoots

[417]



In the mountain villages rice is dried on tall bamboo poles with conical tops

[P. 406 (II)]
IX

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

Introduction

Bali belongs to the gods. The inhabitants are no more than transitory tenants of the land, who cultivate it and are nourished from its yield during the short span of the body's residence upon the earth. People die, but the earth remains — the property of the gods.

The relationship, then, between the living inhabitants and the dead souls, the ancestral gods who are the true owners of the land, is a close one. As the years roll around members of an ancestral line will die, and be born again, so that in the unending cycle of reincarnation it is the ancestral line which continues to hold the apportioned lands, and the individual members merely return from time to time "to ask for rice." In a sense, it is only upon the indulgence of the gods that the living are allowed to be fed from their lands. Therefore the living take great care to show the proper respect for the gods, not to neglect to do them honor at every turn, and to be at pains to propitiate them when signs of their displeasure are manifested. The gods have many and unforeseen ways of showing their anger. Illness, famine, pestilence and drought are signs of the gods' wrath. Bad luck and minor annoyances and ailments indicate that they are perhaps disgruntled, perhaps craving more solicitous attention.

In the ordinary course of life, no man would be so bold as to omit the gestures of homage to which the gods are accustomed. He will not set out his seeds of rice except upon a favorable day of the religious calendar. He will give a small offering, of rice and fruits and flowers and betel, that the plantings may prosper. At the transplanting of the shoots to the inundated fields, and at the opening and closing of the irrigation dikes, during the period of ripening, proper and fitting rites must be carried out. At the harvest, the first few heads of rice which are cut are gathered into a figure, called a *nini* (mother), which is safely put away in the rice granary as a tribute to, and in some sense a representation of, Déwi Sri[1].

In every household at intervals of fifteen days small offerings must be made in the house-temple, on every pavilion within the court, and immediately without the entrance gate. When a feast is held, these offerings are augmented, and especially for the ancestors who are recently

[1] See Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 63, for photographs of these figures in the plains and in a mountain village. The authors say, "In Balinese ceremonials most of the important offerings, including the sprinkler (*lis*) which is used for scattering holy water, are representations of gods, spirits, souls, or bodies of the dead." They found the *nini* in the various areas they studied, and the alternative title Betara Sri in use, as well as Déwi Sri.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

Group II (41–80) small cult objects of earthenware, and miniature replicas of offerings which are also made in dough or from palm leaf.

Only the first category, the agricultural implements and domestic utensils are listed in the religious manuals. I consider that the custom of making these objects must consequently be a very ancient tradition. There is no reference in the religious manuals to the items in the second group, just as there is no mention of the performance of the *wayang lĕmah*. In the manuscript with the most extensive directives for the *pamangku* [1] several of the *itik-itik padudusan* are listed, and it appears from the text that these were also used as offerings on the occasion of the erecting of a new building. The items listed in this manuscript are

1 *tinggala* plough.
2 *lampit* harrow.
3 *ugu* plough-yoke.

These three items, which may be made from white *manduri* wood, are the implements for work performed by the man. However, implements for hunting, fishing, etc. are not referred t.

The items associated with the work of the woman are

4 *ilir* fan, for fanning the cooking fire — identical with the usual *kipas* (not shown in the illustrations).
5 *sĕpit* fire-tongs.
6 *kukusan* basket in which the rice is steamed.
7 *sok sudu-mala* basket 'cleansed of impurity'.
8 *sĕmprong* pipe for blowing on the cooking fire.
9 *kidi* sieve.
10 *tikĕh* mat.
11 *ngyu* winnow.
12 *lisung* hollowed-out section of a tree trunk for threshing rice.
13 *luhu* rice pounder, used with the *lisung*.
14 *kĕtung* hollowed-out round block of wood for threshing rice.
15 *yantra* spinning wheel.
16 *pami(n)pisan* instrument for separating the seeds from raw cotton.

In the manuscript it is specified that these items are to be 'of small dimensions, and made from *dapdap* wood'.

In addition to these, the following items were cited to me by an informant, a Balinese woman of the Brahman caste.

17 *undar* thread-winder.
18 *pangayinan* warp-frame.

[1] *Kusuma Dĕwa*, K (manuscript from the Kirtya-Liefrinck van der Tuuk *lontar* library in Singaradja) No. 1804, f. 49b.

[For illustrations of these implements, see category 116, pp. 59-60 --Analyst]

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

38 *krĕm* brazier (an essential item).
39 *pĕlita* oil lamp with a single spout for one wick
40 *lumbung* or *jinĕng* rice barn; also an offering at the *ma-gedong-gedong* ceremony, but made of palm leaf and much larger.

The following items, which make up the second group, are cult objects and replicas of offerings and are all made in terracotta.

41 *panjĕnĕng* an offering that is cited in all *pamangku* manuals and always in association with *pras* (No 53). It is also made from palm leaf and from dough, and sometimes formed from a number of Chinese coins tied together. The *panjĕnĕng* often includes the purificatory materials listed under No 47 and No 48.
42 *tuwak* or *tuwuk* palmwine, used with libation offerings (Cf No 65), and is also made in dough.
43 *pasĕpan* round, undecorated brazier, on which is placed a decorated *kĕkĕb* (No 35).
44 *papijitan* square-shaped, undecorated bowl with a round base containing massage lotions for the gods. On the inner surface is inscribed a V-shaped marking which also occurs in No 56 over a lotus design, and again in No 61.
45 *kĕladi* edible root, which, according to my informant, is included as a component of the offering *'apang dadi'* 'so that it may succeed'. This item and *ubi*, (No 70) are replicas, but the actual roots are also used as offerings (Cf infra *salanan*). At the beginning of the rice planting the *kĕladi* is planted as an offering together with *kunir* (curcuma), an addition explained by the phonetic association with *kuning*, yellow. Characteristically Indonesian, this process of association by phonetic analogy is perhaps best known from the examples occurring in the Malay *pantuns*[39].
46 *panyémbéyan* an upright lamp with two arms and with a drip-tray at the base.
47 *pabrĕsihan* three substances for the toilet of the gods.
48 *pabrĕsihan* five substances for the toilet of the gods
tĕpung tawar finely chopped *dapdap* leaves.
sĕsarik biji kuning yellow-dyed rice grains.
minyak (fragrant) oil.
isuh-isuh unguent,
asĕm tamarind.
Offerings of water perfumed with flowers, eyeblack, toothpaste, powder, etc., are also presented to the gods
49 *cĕlĕngan* money box of the most simple form.
50 *tangkar iga* breast bone with ribs (on both sides).
51 *tangkar iga* breast bone with ribs on one side only. (Cf. sub *lis* No 1 and No 2).

[39] Cf. Dr. C. Hooykaas, *Over Maleise Literatuur*, Brill, Leiden, 1947

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

rice grains in the four ritual colours *(bija chatur warna)* and a multi-coloured mixture in the centre. A *kwangèn* offering is placed on each of the colours. 783* 778 822

It is evident from one of the myths in the Tantu Panggĕlaran [35] that the *bija chatur warna* offering stems from an old tradition. In this legend it is related that five sons of Batara Wisnu and Déwi Sri, while hunting, pursued four birds: a turtle dove, a wood pigeon, a red pigeon and a black pigeon. These were the 'vehicles' of their mother Déwi Sri. With stones from their slings the youths killed the birds which fell to the ground. Then from the breasts of the dead birds seeds came forth, white seeds from the turtle dove, red seeds from the red pigeon, black seeds from the black pigeon, and from the wood pigeon fragrant yellow seeds. These fragrant seeds the youths took up and ate and so it is that there is now no yellow-grained rice. The youths sowed the white seeds, the red seeds and the black seeds and they planted the husks of the yellow seeds from which grew *kunir* (curcuma). Thus it is, the tale in the Tantu Panggĕlaran concludes, that today there are still the seeds of the four colours. 773

The intent of this legend is obvious. For ritual purposes there must be four colours of rice, one colour for each direction. But rice occurs only in three colours: the white *bèras*, red glutinous rice and black glutinous rice. The myth allows the assumption that there was originally a yellow-coloured rice that has now become the fragrant yellow *kunir*. As was noted above, this root of which the name is phonetically analogous to *kuning*, yellow is always planted when the rice is planted, as has been mentioned before. 783* 778 822 243

The *bija chatur warna* on the third *tèmpèh* is formed with white rice for the East, red glutinous rice for the South, rice dyed yellow with *kunir* for the West, and black glutinous rice for the North. I have seen grains of these four colours scattered in the respective directions at offering ceremonies in the rice fields.

Before going on to explain the manner in which the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan* are used I will describe another offering, the *salaran* offering, which is always included, though the number of the components may vary. The *salaran* offering, carried by a young boy, comprises a carrying pole to which are attached an unhusked coconut, a white drake, a cock (both in baskets of woven palm leaf), *saté* (pieces of meat roasted on a skewer), glutinous rice in *tipats*, a bunch of *pinang* nuts and a wad of betel nut. 778 783*

The white drake and the cock can be regarded as the most important elements of the *salaran* offering. Women assistants remove the two birds from the baskets and, holding them firmly by the rump, let them peck at the grains of rice scattered amongst the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan*. At this point the *wayang lèmah* has just ended and the white thread between the two *dapdap* branches has been broken. The boy carrying the *salaran* offering lifts the pole again on to his shoulder and walks behind the women [825]

[35] Pigeaud, op. cit., p. 61/132.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

there is but one, most often two or three. Sometimes there are as many as four or five, usually reflecting either a large bandjar or one sharply segmented into strong kin or other subgroups, in which all important cross-cutting minorities must be given a role in bandjar leadership. Nowadays klian are usually elected for five years and then replaced by a new set, often chosen by the outgoing group with the approval of the bandjar meeting, so as to avoid electioneering. Klian are assisted by various lesser officials, whose jobs are usually rotated monthly among the members of the bandjar. Though the klian lead the discussion at the bandjar meeting, hold the public treasury, direct communal work, and commonly are men of some weight in the local community they are not possessed of much formal authority. In line with the general Balinese tendency to disperse power very thinly, to dislike and distrust people who project themselves above the group as a whole, and to be very jealous of the rights of the public as a corporate group, the klian are in a very literal sense more servants of the bandjar than its masters, and most of them are extraordinarily cautious about taking any action not previously approved in the hamlet meeting. Klian, who are unpaid and have no special perquisites, feel that their position mainly earns them the right to work harder for the public and be more abused by it; wearily, they compare their job to that of a man caring for male ducks: like the drake, the bandjar produces lots of squawks but no eggs.

3. *Ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed.* Unlike peasant societies in most parts of the world, there is in Bali almost no connection between the ownership and management of cultivable land on the one hand and local political (i.e., hamlet) organization on the other. The irrigation society, or *subak*, regulates all matters having to do with the cultivation of wet rice and it is a wholly separate organization from the bandjar. "We have two sorts of custom," say the Balinese, "dry customs for the hamlet, wet ones for the irrigation society."

Subak are organized according to the water system: all individuals owning land which is irrigated from a single water source—a single dam and canal running from dam to fields—belong to a single subak. Subak whose direct water sources are branches of a common larger dam and canal form larger and less tightly knit units, and finally the entire watershed of one river system forms an overall, but even looser, integrative unit. As Balinese land ownership is quite fragmented, a man's holding typically consisting of two or three quarter- or half-acre plots scattered about the countryside, often at some distance from his home, the members of one subak almost never hail from a single hamlet, but from ten or fifteen different ones; while from the point of view of the hamlet, members of a single bandjar will commonly own land in a large number of subak. Thus as the spatial distribution of temples sets the boundaries on Balinese religious organization, and the nucleated settlement pattern forms the physical framework for political organization, so the concrete outline of the Balinese irrigation system of simple stone and clay dams, mud-lined canals and tunnels, and bamboo water dividers provides the context within which Balinese agricultural activities are organized.

Though organizational details and terminology differ widely from region to

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

243 312 624 region, there are elected chiefs—usually called *klian subak*, as opposed to *klian bandjar*—over the subak, while the higher levels of watershed and river system organization are coordinated by appointed officials of the central government as the heirs of the traditional irrigation and tax officials of the old Balinese kingdoms. But, again, it is primarily the subak as a whole which determines in the light of its inherited traditions, its own policies.

621 312 243 The subak is responsible for the maintenance of its irrigation system, a task involving almost continual labor, for the apportionment of water among members of the subak, and for the scheduling of planting. It levies fines for infractions of rules (stealing water, ignoring planting directives, shirking work, and so on), maintains the subak temples and carries out a whole sequence of ritual activities connected with the agricultural cycle, controls fishing, fodder gathering, duck herding and other secondary activities in the subak, and so on and so forth. In most of the larger subak today the actual irrigation work—the constant repair of dams and canals and the perpetual opening and closing of water gates involved in water distribution—is carried out by only a part of the subak membership, called the "water group," which then receives a money payment from those not so working, the amount again being determined by the subak as a whole. Complex patterns of share tenancy, involved systems of controlled crop rotation, varying modes of internal subak organization, and the increasing efforts by the government water officials to improve inter-subak coordination complicate the whole picture. But everywhere the status of the subak as an independent, self-regulating, corporate group with its own rules and its own purposes remains as unchallenged today as it was in the times of the Balinese kings.

[427]

564 554 4. *Commonality of ascribed social status.* The Balinese, like the Indians from whom they have borrowed (and reformulated) so much, have commonly been described as having a caste system. They do, in the sense that social status is patrilineally inherited, that marriage is fairly strictly regulated in terms of status, and that, save for a few unusual exceptions, mobility between levels within the prestige system is in theory impossible and in practice difficult. But they do not in the sense of possessing a ranked hierarchy of well-defined corporate groups, each with specific and exclusive occupational, social, and religious functions all supported by elaborate patterns of ceremonial avoidance and commensality and by a complex belief system justifying radical status inequality. Were the term "caste" not so deeply ingrained in the literature on Bali, it might be less confusing to speak of the Balinese as having a "title system," for it is in terms of a set of explicit titles, passing from father to child and attached to the individual's name as a term both of address and reference, that prestige is distributed.

Following Indian usage, the Balinese divide themselves into four main groups: Brahmana, Satria, Vesia, and Sudra. Since in such a classification more than 90 per cent of the population falls into the fourth category, a more common division for everyday use is made between *Triwangsa* ("the three peoples"), the first three groups taken as a unit, and the *Sudra*, which in a

9:Geertz E=5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

621 684 which the name village can be properly applied, while the perbekelan as a whole forms only the vaguest of social units. The three villages concerned are Pau, Penasan, and Tihingan proper (the seat of the Perbekel which, consequently, lends its name to the entire perbekelan). We shall be concerned here only with Tihingan proper.

Tihingan proper consists of a single hamlet of some 138 kitchens grouped into 85 house-compounds, and there is but one set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples [794] to which all members of the hamlet belong, a rather untypically simple arrangement. There is a Brahmana priest living in the village, and there is a [564] scattering of low-title Satria and Vesia families, but almost 90 percent of the population is Sudra. From the structural point of view, however, the most 621 striking characteristic of Tihingan is neither its territorial pattern nor its status 614 system, but the rather unusual importance of kinship as an organizational force in social life. It is the four dadia, accounting for nearly 80 percent of the village population, which form the axis around which Tihingan village life mainly revolves, and the implications of this simple fact can be traced through all the levels of its social organization. On the religious level, each major dadia [794] owns a very large, handsomely carved temple (in the case of the two largest dadia, even larger and more handsomely carved than the theoretically superordinate Kahyangan-Tiga temples) near the center of the village. The upkeep of this temple and the carrying out of the requisite semi-annual ceremonies within it in suitable style are among the major functions of the dadia, and rivalries in those matters can become quite intense.

At the political level, the distribution of hamlet leadership roles is con- [623] sciously and carefully designed to provide a realistic reflection of the balance of [634] dadia power. There are five klian or chiefs. Four of these are chosen, one from each of the major dadia; the fifth klian at the same time holds the office of Pengliman and is a member of the second largest dadia. Since the Perbekel himself, a man of some weight within Tihingan proper, is a member of the largest dadia, the kin group foundation for local leadership is clear and exact. Further, in supra-village political processes, institutionalized in the party sys- [665] tem of the "New Indonesia," the two largest kin groups are allied as a faction against the next two plus all the families not belonging to a dadia. All of the first group belong to the Socialist party and all of the second to the Nationalist, so that party allegiance is absolutely predictable from kin group membership, and reflects the internal organization of the village rather than personal ideological conviction.

On the economic level, each dadia forms a cooperative work group for the 621 manufacture of Balinese musical instruments—metallaphones, gongs, cymbals, 614 etc.—a smithing craft in which this village is partially specialized; the person- 476 nel working in any given forge almost inevitably are members of the same [326] dadia.[19] Further, most tenancy and exchange work patterns in rice field culti- [243] vation also follow kin group lines, introducing these alliances into the irrigation society context as well. More informal economic relationships—money lending, patronage, and so on—follow the same pattern.

1: Alkema & Bezemer--424 E-4,5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
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[377 cont.]

2. Sawah Cultivation. The cultivation of rice in wet fields, [378] [illustration appears here] [379] known generally as sawahs, stands on a higher plane than the cultivation of rice in dry fields. The opinion that sawah cultivation originated with the Hindus has been mentioned in Chapter 4. In any case, it can be said that such cultivation is found only among the more advanced peoples of the archipelago. Whether it was introduced by Hindu-Javanese to the Outer Provinces, where it has long been practiced, is a difficult question to answer.

As well as on Java, Bali, and Lombok, sawah cultivation is found in Atjeh on Sumatra, among the Batak, in the Padang highlands and lowlands, in the coastal areas of Borneo, among the Buginese and Makassarese on Celebes, and the Doesoen-Kaili group of the Toradja (here the land is not worked with the plow, but by driving buffaloes into the drenched fields). Wet rice-cultivation is practically nonexistent on the other islands of the archipelago.

Rice cultivation in sawahs differs mainly in four ways from that in dry ground.

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1. Far more care is taken in preparing the land, chiefly in connection with the necessity of keeping the water in the fields by means of aqueducts and dikes. The great difference between sawah and ladang cultivation is that in the former the fields must stand under water for some time. The field must therefore be surrounded by dikes, called galengan on Java, and, in the case of sloping terrain, the fields must be laid out in terraces. Furthermore, sawah cultivation requires, if possible, a supply of running water that can be directed first to one field, then to another. This has led to building aqueducts directly from the river to the fields. Where such irrigation projects have not been undertaken by the Government, the building, maintenance, and repair of the aqueducts represent a very considerable amount of labor for the native cultivator. Despite the simplest kind of implements, the native system of irrigation on Java, and perhaps even more on Bali and western Lombok, is very highly developed. The